

# LANGUAGE, ETHNIC IDENTITY, AND ADAPTATION OF ETHNIC MIGRANTS IN POST-SOVIET KAZAKHSTAN

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## Abstract:

In this work the author considers the issue of ethnic migration in the Republic of Kazakhstan and analyzes the problems of the adaptation and integration of repatriates into Kazakhstani society. The key issue of the research is the expectations of ethnic Kazakh repatriates versus the reality of their life on returning to their ethnic homeland. The author considers such issues as the ethnic identity of migrants, the linguistic adaptation of repatriates, the social and economic difficulties they face, culture shock, and the stereotypes that others have about them. Special attention is paid to the issue of "insider/outsider" and the way these lines are drawn in Kazakhstani society today.

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**Key Words:** Language Identity, Ethnicity, Adjustment, Oralman, Repatriation, Ethnic Migrants, Language Policy

## Introduction

The formation of ethnic identity and its transformation are important current research questions. The scientific literature confirms that there are various research approaches to the issue of migrant ethnic self-identification at different times, and currently there is no consensus in the meaning of this notion.

Certainly, through globalization and the increasing influence of foreign cultures, migration increases dramatically, borders around communication disappear, and this issue becomes more topical.

Modern authors often refer to Marcus Li Hansen's classic article, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant", which was published in 1938 [1]. The author discusses that the ethnic self-identification of immigrants and their descendants changes from generation to generation, which is connected to conditions of perception of a situation, place, role and life conditions of a new country. Oscar Handlin wrote, "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history" [2].

"Who am I?" This is a very difficult question for an ethnic migrant who has a Kazakh passport, was born in Mongolia, knows only the Mongolian language, and observes Mongolian traditions to answer. Scientists may have thousands of arguments for labeling this person a Mongol though this person will repeat with confidence that s/he is a Kazakh.

"Who is s/he?" This research is designed to consider this question by studying the formation of ethnic identity of repatriates in the Republic of Kazakhstan. The study also examines the influence of a number of factors such as the social and economic situation in the country, state policies concerning repatriates, relation of repatriates with the local population, education and others.

The process of repatriation of Kazakhs to Kazakhstan is many-sided and complex. Today more than five million of Kazakhs live outside of Kazakhstan. The biggest percent of ethnic Kazakhs abroad are descendants of those who left the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s to escape from political prosecutions, repression, violent collectivization and the hunger and starvation that the Kazakh population suffered. Some 200,000 Kazakhs left the Soviet Union and moved to China, Mongolia, India, Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey. The number of Kazakhs living in the neighboring Soviet Republics during the same period increased by 2.5 times to more than 794,000 people. The "Slavic" immigration, which had begun in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and continued during the Soviet period, was accompanied by mass resettlement, violent migration, and Kazakhs became an ethnic minority in their homeland. Kazakhstan became the region within the USSR with the smallest native

ethnic population—the number of Kazakhs in the 1959 census decreased to 30% from the total number of the population of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic with 9.3 million people.

Since 1991 the Republic of Kazakhstan has been actively working to return Kazakhs to their historical homeland. In legal documents this category of citizens is described as oralman or returnee [3].

Having declared a national program to return of ethnic Kazakhs to their historical homeland, the state assumed a number of obligations concerning the creation of corresponding civil, economic and socio-cultural supports for oralmans. The solution of these problems is the state prerogative, first of all. But now it is clear that the state's efforts to support oralmans in adapting to local conditions are insufficient and as a result the problems and tensions have increased.

**Table 1: Number of repatriates to Kazakhstan 1991-1 January 2011**

<i>Country of stay</i>	<i>Number of repatriates</i>			
	<i>Families</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>People</i>	<i>%</i>
Uzbekistan	126,790	60.3	494,565	60.0
Mongolia	22,124	10.5	110,856	13.5
China	25,764	12.3	85,487	10.4
Turkmenistan	16,232	7.7	63,702	7.7
Russia	11,065	5.3	35,422	4.3
Tajikistan	2,756	1.3	11,671	1.4
Kyrgyzstan	2,334	1.1	8,644	1.0
Iran	1,148	0.5	5,983	0.7
Turkey	895	0.4	3,485	0.4
Other countries of CIS	352	0.2	930	0.1
Other foreign countries	765	0.4	3,425	0.4
<b>Total:</b>	<b>210,225</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>824,170</b>	<b>100</b>

Many of the oralmans who returned from countries whose cultural and social environments strongly differed from those in Kazakhstan found it difficult to adapt to Kazakhstani socio-cultural values. One instrument of socialization is language, and considerable numbers of oralmans (in large measure those who returned from non-Commonwealth of Independent States countries) speak neither Russian nor Kazakh. The majority of oralmans who had difficulty integrating into Kazakhstani society returned from China, Mongolia and Iran.

According to official statistics from the Committee of Migratory Police of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, since independence about 1 million of ethnic Kazakhs have returned to the republic from foreign and neighboring countries. The majority of oralmans, 60.5%, returned from Uzbekistan, 13.1% from Mongolia, 10.6% from China, 7.5% from Turkmenistan, 4.2% from Russia and 4.1% from other countries (see Table 1).

Working-age oralmans account for 54.4% (448,459 people), children under 18 are 41.2% (339,433 people) and retired persons 4.4% (36,278 people). Among persons of working age 9.1% have a higher education, 20.9% have a secondary vocational education, 63.4% have a general secondary education, and 6.6% - have no education [4].

### Methods Of Research

The author administered a questionnaire, which included 282 questions and touched upon the following topics: social-demographic characteristics; attitude to the Kazakh and Russian languages; the choice of the language in various situations and frequency of its use; opinions about the necessity of proficiency in the Kazakh and Russian languages; the level of proficiency in languages; social contacts; and additional questions.

The survey was administered between January 2009 and December 2010, and 1,000 people aging from 16 to 60 responded. The poll involved repatriates to Kazakhstan from China, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Russia. Taking into account the fact that these countries

gave the greatest number of repatriates that returned to their historical motherland Kazakhstan (Table 1) and keeping to the general aggregate 600 responding oralmen from Uzbekistan, 135 – from Mongolia, 104 – from China, 77 – from Turkmenistan, 43 – from Russia and 14 repatriates from Tajikistan were quizzed. The author also conducted in-depth interviews with 65 respondents.

We also used included methods of research that allowed the consideration of the life of small primary and secondary groups in which there arises and forms a personality and models of social identification and the basis of ethnical identification. G. Urazaliyeva, for example, having constructed the term “ethno-autobiography”, used this construction as a method of analysis of students’ formation of ethno-lingual identification. The students were asked to write a composition answering “Who am I?” (I am a Kazakh (Tartar, Russian, Ukrainian, Jew, Chechen, etc.) and what does it means for me?”). The technique allowed for estimating the formation of ethnic identification of a personality in one of the unique age groups, determined as “children of perestroika” in Russian and Kazakhstani society [5].

It was important to follow up on repatriates’ language identification of repatriates, the linguistic factors that influence the successful adjustment of repatriates, and analyze informants’ attitudes toward language. 130 repatriates from age 16 to 60 took part in this follow up.

The analysis of the mass media was also carried out to discover stereotypes about oralmen.

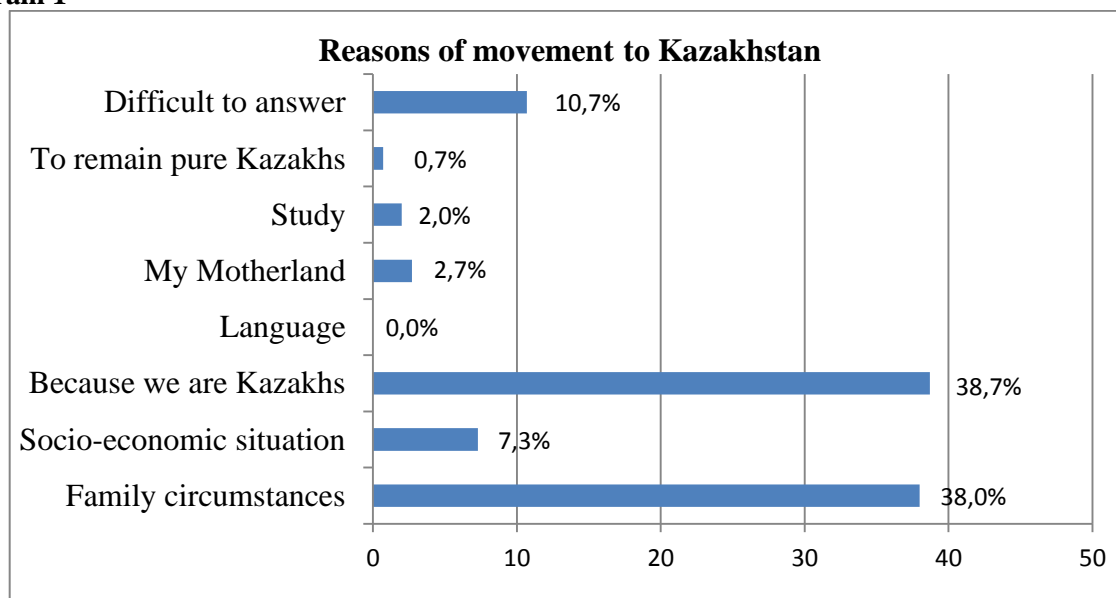
### **Repatriates’ Reasons To Move To Kazakhstan**

Previous research has shown that the motives for migrants to return home vary widely. The most common include:

- unsatisfactory economic conditions because of unemployment or lack of demand for professional;
- lack of social status and adverse attitude of the government or local population;
- reunion of families or serious family problems. It should be noted that the family factor plays an important role in Kazakh repatriation because of the importance of belonging to a certain clan;
- emotional factors including the opportunity to educate children, etc.

The first and the second motives are known as repellent and the third and the fourth as attracting factors in repatriation.

In Uzbekistan, for example, there are about 1.5 million Kazakhs who live mainly in the ecologically disastrous areas of Aral and the Kzyl-Kum desert. As for the reasons for moving except economic and ecological factors are called "unhealthy" policy of the Uzbek authorities at personnel selection and the issue of training of children in their native language. Approximately 70,000 ethnic Kazakhs live in Turkmenistan, where the poor economic conditions have led to an increasing flow of immigrants to Kazakhstan.

**Diagram 1**

The results of the socio-linguistic experiment show that the majority of repatriates moved to Kazakhstan for the reason that they were Kazakhs (38%) and because of family circumstances (38%) (Diagram 1). Among the reasons connected with family circumstances respondents allocate the following:

- receiving of available and quality education;
- search for better life;
- aspiration to be closer to relatives who live in Kazakhstan.

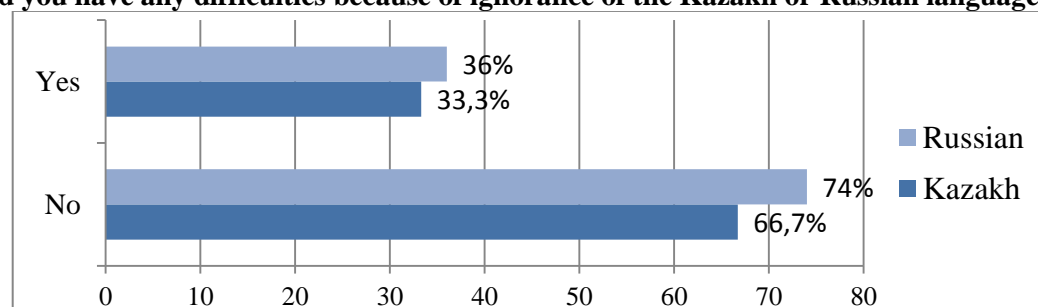
### **Repatriates' Adaptation And Integration Into The Kazakhstani Society**

On arrival to Kazakhstan, repatriates face certain difficulties which influence their successful adaptation and integration into accepting society. According to researchers, adaptation takes place at several levels: first, it is the lingual adaptation which includes acquirement of the second language in natural conditions. Second, it is social adaptation. It is caused by oralman's aspiration to become members of new society which accompanied by new social identification that is defined by the new culture and other knowledge of the world.

According to the questionnaire, part of respondents experienced difficulties because of ignorance of the Russian language (36%) and Kazakh language (33,3%) (Diagram 2).

**Diagram 2**

**Did you have any difficulties because of ignorance of the Kazakh or Russian languages?**



So, the results of the conducted research show that ignorance of Russian influences on:

- employment of repatriates (56%);
- obtaining reliable and topical information (34%);
- receiving of the corresponding allowances (32%);
- education (23%), etc.

Let's track causes and effects of this process which is connected, first of all, with the language situation in Kazakhstan.

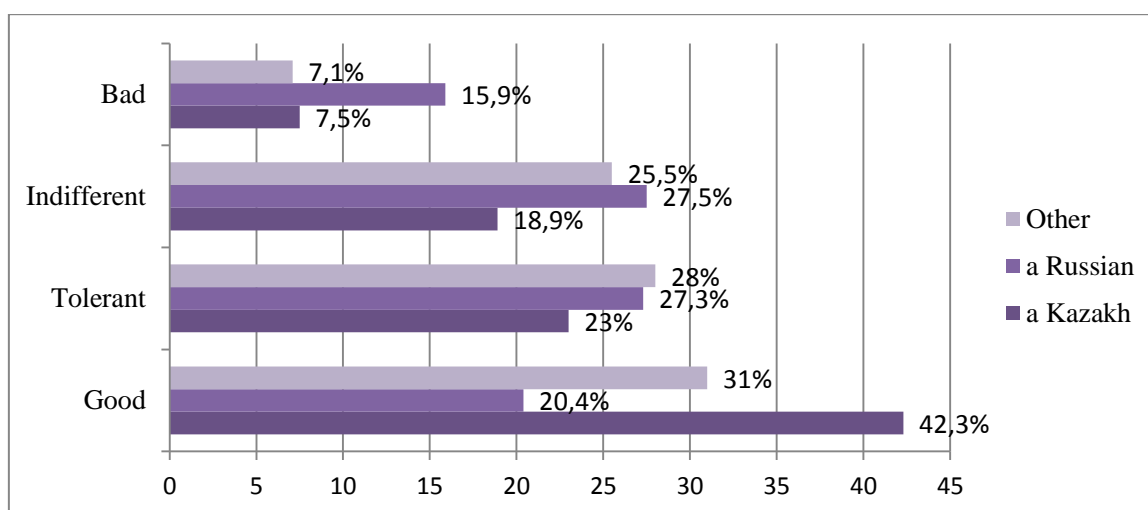
The language policy in Kazakhstan today aims to implement the cultural project "Trinity of Languages" – when each citizen of the republic knows the Kazakh, Russian and English languages. It is necessary to note that according to the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Kazakhstan only 60 percent of the country's population knows the state language. And, despite the state's work on development of Kazakh, according to foreign scientists, Russian will be widely spread in the republic due to requirements of economic development and effect of globalization [6]. This situation leads to fact that for successful integration of repatriates into the Kazakhstani society it is necessary for them to know at least Kazakh and Russian.

Considering the issue of repatriates' adaptation into the Kazakhstani society, first of all we relied on the results of the sociological experiments. The analysis of the questionnaire results shows that the reason for successful adaptation into foreign-language society is realization that "to be understood doesn't mean yet to be accepted" [7]. If a speech strongly differs from a standard studied language, this individual remains "stranger" for society, a representative of another mentality and foreign culture.

Therefore, during adaptation the attitude towards repatriates of representatives of local community is also important. The data of the sociological poll of local population concerning their attitude towards repatriates are given below (Diagram 3).

**Diagram 3**

**What is your attitude to oralmans (ethnic Kazakhs who came back to their Motherland)?**  
(in % to the total number of respondents without those for whom it was difficult to answer)



The results of observation show that negative attitude of certain part of the population to oralmans appears not in full rejection, but in vigilance to "alien" people, in potential threat and fear of loss of workplaces and reduction of chances of receiving housing in an intense situation of the real estate market.

The issue of "insider/outsider" is shown not only in language, but also in socio-cultural difference. The experience got in the field of culture, society, family, school, work and the mass media variously influences formation of a personality. Dissociation of cultures, originality of their understanding of life and language distinctions – all these factors influence relationship between people and, therefore, efficiency of their cooperation and mutual understanding. Difference of cultures can lead to cultural shock which is a consequence of incomplete acculturation of an individual, misunderstanding of a culture's norms which are new for him/her.

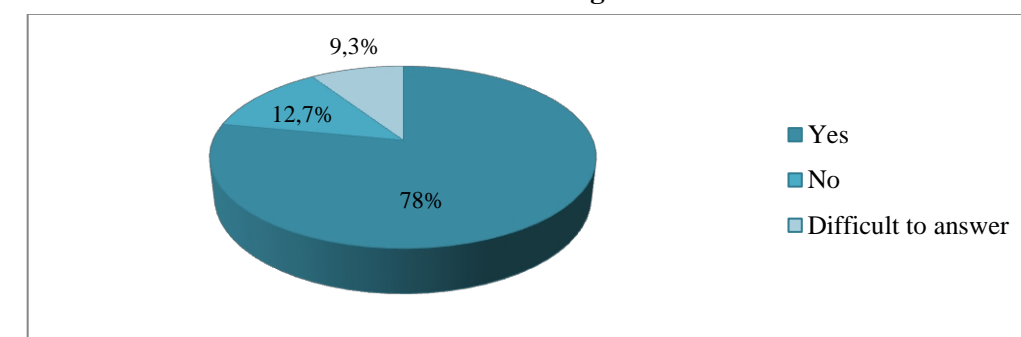
Cultural and mental distinctions of repatriates can be shown in all spheres of social life starting with fundamental characteristics of a personality, such as commitment to traditions, religious views, outlook, education, life, manner of behavior and even clothes. Moreover, distinctions on some categories are rather deep. In particular, it concerns the repatriates who have arrived from the

countries such as China, Mongolia, and Iran. Adaptation to the Kazakhstani conditions becomes complicated also because of the fact that repatriates represent quite a separated society as each group of repatriates have cultural features of that country where they arrived from. As the observations demonstrates that between repatriates and indigenous Kazakhs there is a distance appearing in such basic components as culture, mentality, speech and nonverbal behavior. It can be found in the repatriates' autobiographical texts:

*"The first year I continued my study at high school of the East Kazakhstan region. When I arrived, pupils from my class was interested in me and wanted to learn more about me. They asked me: "Nazerka, do you eat snakes or frogs in China? ", "Chinese are disgraceful and slovenly, aren't they? Are you similar to them? ". In the beginning I was very angry when I was asked such questions, but then I began to explain everything. – "I don't know such things about Chinese, the only thing I know for sure is that I am Kazakh and Muslim and therefore we don't eat such food, and the main requirement for Muslims is to be clean and eat Halal food... " (student, 21, moved from China in 2005.)*

#### DIAGRAM 4

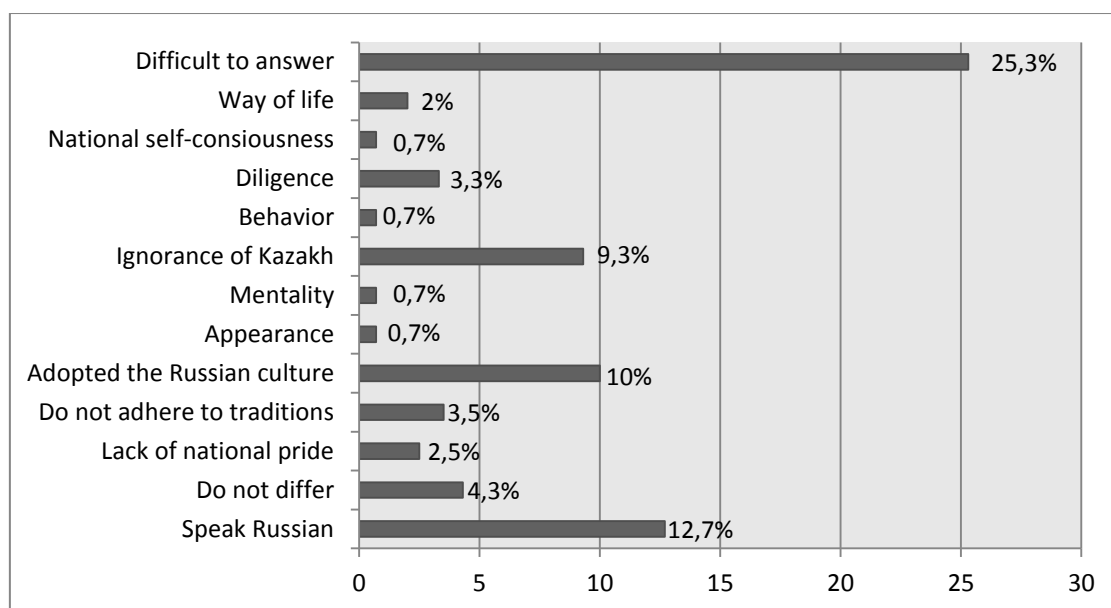
##### Differences between local Kazakhs and Kazakhs living abroad



According to 78% of repatriates, Kazakhs living in Kazakhstan differ from compatriots living abroad, 12,7% don't see any differences between oralmans and Kazakhs living in Kazakhstan, 9,3% of respondents found it difficult to answer the question.

On the question "What is the difference, in your opinion, between Kazakhs living in Kazakhstan from compatriots living abroad?" the following answers were received: respondents, first of all, allocated the following characteristics: non-compliance with traditions (21,3%), communication in Russian (12,7%), adopted the Russian culture (10%), ignorance of the Kazakh language (9,3%), etc. Also such distinctive features as: "there is no national pride" (7,3%), "diligence" (3,3%), "culture" (2%), "national consciousness" (0,7%), "character" (0,7%), "mentality" (0,7%), "appearance" (0,75) were emphasized. The results of this poll are presented in Diagram 5.

With the purpose of detection of nature of mutual perception and estimation by the "accepting" and "entering" parties we addressed to the analysis of the mass media materials. For consideration of the outlined questions we took into consideration of such popular editions as "Kazakhstanskaya pravda", "Argumenty i fakty– Kazakhstan", "Vremya" and others during 1999-2011. The specified editions are characterized by mass character, popularity, socially recognized right to definition of reality that make considerable impact on formation of social representations of reader's audience concerning ethnic Kazakhs. The press doesn't directly form but helps to model image which is rather developed in ordinary consciousness. To a certain extent it reflects this image making it more distinct. Influencing mass consciousness of readers, the press promotes crystallization of a certain ethno-psychological background in which immigrants have to exist.

**DIAGRAM 5****Distinctive characteristics of local Kazakhs compared with repatriates**

Large number of repatriates who often differ from common population not only in appearance, behavioral manner, but also in cultural and valuable installations, and it induces so-called indigenous people which are permanent residents of the country treat to define their attitude. This attitude reflects both perception and understanding of the process of repatriation.

Analyzing these materials, we, first of all, were interested in the following questions: 1) in what social context repatriates are described, i.e. what aspects of life and economic practice of immigrants the press prefers to show; 2) what installations of reader's audience can be fixed about ethnic immigrants under the influence of social perception of an image of another.

It is known that “insider – outsider” opposition lies fundamentally in perception and information processing about surrounding reality. It appears in all spheres of human activity being specific cultural opposition which in a special way is realized in a language picture of the world.

First of all, the attitude towards repatriates is defined by the opposition “insider – outsider” (natives – entrants). The newspaper publications devoted to oralman's problems have the headings reflecting this opposition (“Insiders among outsiders, or outsiders among insiders,” *dumaem.ru*, the Special Project “Kazakhstan”, 13.12.2005.)

The understanding of “insiders” includes such basic aspects as:

**–representative of the Kazakh culture and traditions:**

“... The ancient Kazakh dance “Kara Zhorga” is revived by Kazakhs who have come back to Kazakhstan. According to them, they are often invited to performances now. Though “Kara Zhorg” was referred to the Mongolian culture by mistake...” (G. Kamziyeva “Thanks to repatriates in Kazakhstan who revive this rare dance of steppe men”, “Arguments and Facts – Kazakhstan”, 3.11.2004);

“...Representatives of the Kazakh nationality living in foreign and neighboring countries are considered as keepers of the cultural heritage of the Kazakh people. It has its explanation: throughout many decades Kazakh families living outside the Republic of Kazakhstan were keeping their traditions, customs, and language.

Herewith, isolated compact accommodation of Kazakh families abroad and lack of communications with the historical homeland allowed them to keep that identity of culture of the Kazakh people which in Kazakhstan for many years underwent assimilation and was filled with many innovations unusual for the Kazakh culture, language, traditions of indigenous people of the republic ...” (O. Sidorov. “Gazeta.kz”, 19.02.2004);

*"... Kanatbayevs' family is Kazakhs-oralmans who came from Uzbekistan, from the small town Uchkuduk. They arrived to their historical homeland in 2003. They also brought the self-made yurt, the white 12-kanatka with themselves.*

*– In Uchkuduk all Kazakhs very much value national traditions, – tells Altai, – there are masters in every aul and district.*

*Kanatbayevs' family placed their yurt for the first time in Karaganda on the city square on Nauryz holiday. Ak yui ("White house") from Uchkuduk made the real sensation. There was a long line of people who wanted to see the yurt. Then experts admitted that only this yurt was purely Kazakh 12-kanatka without Mongolian and Kyrgyz "influence" ...* ("A yurt for export", "Karavan" newspaper, 30.01.2009);

*"... Risa is an oralman from China where our compatriots carefully keep their national cultural heritage. Risa was awarded the gold medal in the nomination "National Dance", and Anvar Sadykova, her teacher – the Master of Arts, the winner of the award of the Fund of the First President, is very proud of it..."* ("Risa – the first on the dancing Olympus!", "Kazakhstanskaya pravda" newspaper, 05.03.2011);

*"... These people didn't assimilated, they kept the Kazakh customs, traditions, language, way of life. This faith to memory of ancestors and devotion to the far homeland helped their fathers not to become outcasts there; they saw the homeland in their dreams. Today they are representatives of that valuable spiritual code which was descended from generation to generation and thanks to which our nation is alive..."* ("Bayterek" magazine, No. 2(29), March 2011);

**– patriot:**

*"... Oralman can't already imagine their life out of Kazakhstan and call themselves as the main patriots, they try to become real citizens of the country. During 60<sup>th</sup> the Soviet government provided repatriates with housing, cattle, clothes, but today, more than forty years later, the inhabitant of the notorious residential district "Shanyrak" who has arrived from the Karakalpak Nukus, tells that his family of five people can't get to a quota. They came thinking of the future of their children, but the earth is expensive and it is impossible to get ground..."* (the "Bayterek" magazine, No. 2(29), March 2011);

*"He came to the historical homeland to make it prospering. The local government helps with everything. For me to work on my native land is very easily and joyfully, - Ermau Setesh says. I am sure that many oralman of Semirechya would share this opinion..."* ("To find home", "Kazakhstanskaya Pravda" newspaper, 06.01.2009.)

Formation of a repatriate's social portrait is influenced by different factors. First of all, repatriation is discussed as the phenomenon which is given an assessment from the point of view of advantage or harm for accepting society. Resettlement of repatriates considerably influences a natural increase of the population, and oralman are considered as:

**– "reserve of human resources":**

*"... Now the Kazakh Diaspora is a reserve of human resources for the Republic of Kazakhstan..."* (O. Sidorov, "Gazeta.kz", 19.02.2004.)

Behavioral stereotypes of oralman in correlation with the principles of the Kazakhstan cultural behavior are perceived and as "strangers", "not ours", not meeting the requirements of the developed socio-cultural environment.

Oralman are perceived also as the isolated group, namely as:

**– "the closed community":**

*"... – Oralman themselves live closed, in community. Possibly, long stay in the other national environment in the status of ethnic minority, aspiration to keep the national feature influenced their way of life which they unconsciously live on the historical homeland, – demographer Sydykov thinks..."* ("Closed communities", "Karavan" newspaper, 23.07.2010.)

Certainly, active flow of oralman to the country creates tension connected with appearance of special social problems therefore often oralman are perceived as:

**– "rebels", "disturbers of public order":**

*"... About 250 families from Mongolia came to Aktau, to their historical homeland. The first of them came on a quota in 1992. Some of them have already learned Russian, accustomed, got a new profession and work. Old men get pension. But every year it becomes more difficult for repatriates to*



*adapt to new places. Conflicts began to arise between local and repatriates. On October 20 five local attacked Tokhtar in the stokehole. They beat him on the head with a shovel shank, kicked him with their feet. Kasbatyr was also attacked, but he could escape. Unauthorized meeting gathered at the building of police emergency call center. TV reporters were witnesses of this incident. None of policemen reacted to requirements of repatriates to come out for dialogue. Then the crowd rushed into the building. Someone broke glass in the center. The chief of police department Marat Musin tried to explain in a polite form that murder was under control of the police, a suspected was in jail in Temirtau. Nevertheless, the rebelled broke in Akim's office. Akim Samat Murzatayev also explained that the suspected was in jail, and now the court was to decide about him according to the law. The rebelled calmed down and the conversation proceeded in the assembly hall of akimat..." ("Kazakh-oralmans (migrants from Mongolia) rebelled near Karaganda", "Argumenty i fakty - Kazakhstan" newspaper, 07.11.2004);*

**– as socially adverse category of the population (“swindlers”, “thieves”):**

*"...Sums which received unfair oralmans in the form of single financial support, made approximately one million tenge. Thus, once having got the support from the country, repatriates moving to other regions of the country repeatedly began to demand the support from the country ..." ("Oralmans learned to make frauds", <http://www.vsesmi.ru>);*

*"...Repatriates turn into business their return to the historical homeland Astana. May 24. KazakhstanToday – the Deputy of Mazhilis of Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan Vladimir Nekhoroshev claims that several thousand of repatriates turned their return to the historical homeland into business. He declared it today during the governmental hour in Mazhilis, addressing with this question to the chairman of the Agency of Statistics of Kazakhstan Alikhan Smailov.*

*We have the information that several thousand of arrived repatriates don't exist at all. Some repatriates come, receive everything that it is necessary to them, all our support, gifts, and leave back. They turned it into business", – V. Nekhoroshev told addressing to A. Smailov..." ("Kazakhstan Today" News Agency, 24.05.2010);*

*"...Arrived oralmans from Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan and Uzbekistan are as a headache to the authorities. Having received the order to the southern, northern and central regions of the country, they don't hurry to leave Almaty area. They also don't get job. They settle in the markets of Almaty and Kaskelen. Among them there are different people and someone chooses a criminal way to earn money. For example, the quartet of robbers who were systematically plundering taxi drivers, came from Uzbekistan. The businesswoman with Kaskelen registration became one of the victims of natives of Karakalpakstan. Robbers took away her gold jewelry, money and cell phone. One passenger broke the head of another victim, the 70-year-old driver, because of ... one thousand tenge! It became clear that the suspected arrived to Kaskelen from Kyrgyzstan..." ("Caravan", 28.10.2008.)*

**– as threat to national security:**

*"...According to the Committee on Migration of the Republic of Kazakhstan, about a quarter of one million of oralmans have the lowest education level that – despite of received privileges – automatically makes them unskilled labor which is a lot in Kazakhstan. We can add a flow of migrants from Central Asia, Xinjiang, Afghanistan, etc. which – legally and illegally – continues to arrive to Kazakhstan as the most safe country of the region. As receiving residence permit continues to remain rather bureaucratized and expensive procedure, the majority of them stay in the country illegally, and no "cleanings" of migratory police essentially changes the situation. They can't come back to even bigger poverty and they have just no place to go.*

*It is necessary to admit that several millions of people of able-bodied age which don't have education, qualifications and constant income being practically beyond the law rules and in antisocial conditions can become and gradually become an increasing threat to the country development. The problem is aggravated also by contradictions between the "city" and "rural" population in cities where arrived people, without opportunity to adapt start behaving rather aggressively. The same problem arises in regions where local population began negatively perceive labor inflow from abroad especially oralmans, receiving a set of privileges at once and often turning them into business..." ("Vremya", 29.07.2010.)*

– as dependents:

"...As for work, according to the director of the center, immigrants don't hurry to find some job. Everything is free for them in the center, therefore they do not hurry. When they are offered some job they do not always agree. They have spirit of dependants. There were cases in the region when oralman, having received housing and lifting, sold their apartments and completely disappeared.

At the time of a release of the article the conflict was temporarily settled. Five oralman families got an opportunity to live in the Center of rehabilitation and integration for one more month. During this time they have to take advantage of the opportunity and find housing and work. It is impossible to depend always upon the state in the center's administration opinion. And, probably, the region authorities think the same..." ("Lada", 29.11.2010, <http://www.lada.kz>.)

Positive estimation of an oralman as a particular person is formed empirically. In the course of natural supervision existing stamps are forced out by an objective rational assessment. For example, there is often oralman's assessment:

– a hardworking person:

"...Kuanysht Ayapov moved to Uralsk together with his family in 2004. He received the earth on the city suburb, since then he has built a house here. Uzbek Kazakhs are famous here for their diligence. In conditions of lack of water they manage to make gardens and kitchen gardens.

– If there were water, we would make a garden city, but now we have to drag water in buckets through the streets to water our kitchen garden, – aksakal Nuratdin Aleuov complains.

In the village Kyzylagash of this region immigrants from China under the leadership of Salamat Abdamagit were actively engaged in such unusual field to local places as "arboriculture" and if to be more exact they cultivated such special species as... poplars, so-called industrial which have strong wood and can be used as a construction material." ("Vremya", 09.03.2010.)

To sum up:

- 1) Activization of the word *oralman* in Russian in the beginning of the third millennium is caused by the social reasons: migratory processes changing settled way of life, influence public consciousness. Mass migration causes formation of collective perception of repatriates;
- 2) national stereotypes used in the mass media reflect specifics of relationship in society;
- 3) some stereotypic ideas of repatriates are a braking factor: the specific attitude to oralman from a certain part of the surrounding population and certain representatives of authorities, unwillingness to recognize them as "insiders" and "we", causes intense relationship of local Kazakhs with repatriates;
- 4) positive estimation of an oralman as a particular person is formed empirically. In the course of natural supervision existing stamps are forced out by an objective rational assessment.

The presented material doesn't reflect all features forming an image of an oralman in the mass media. We only wanted to show that the mass media often make a serious problem, creating a negative image of repatriates and the process of migration and immigration in general. This attitude leads to formation of Diaspora model of oralman's way of life, forms at them feeling of isolation, creates difficulties in communication.

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